

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 01982 192113 Z

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SUBJ: LUNS' REPORT ON HIS U. S. VISIT

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT PERMREP LUNCH APRIL 17, SYG LUNS REPORTED ON THE HIGHLIGHTS OF HIS VISIT TO THE U. S. AT SOME LENGTH AND IN PARTICULAR HIS DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT AND DR. KISSINGER REGARDING NATO DEFENSE QUESTIONS, MBFR, AND U. S.-EUROPEAN RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. LUNS GAVE THE PERMREPS AN ACCOUNT OF HIS RECENT U. S. TRIP. I CLARIFIED, BALANCED AND IN SOME INSTANCES MADE MORE PRECISE SOME OF HIS RECOLLECTIONS. LUNS PREFACED HIS REMARKS BY NOTING THAT THE PRESIDENT SEEMED RELAXED ALERT AND YOUNG LOOKING. ALTHOUGH ROUGHLY LUNS' AGE, THE PRESIDENT LOOKED TEN YEARS YOUNGER.

2. STATE OF THE ALLIANCE. ACCORDING TO LUNS, IN HIS MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT AND DR. KISSINGER HE WAS TOLD THAT IT WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION THAT THE U. S. HAD MADE A PRIVATE DEAL WITH THE USSR. LUNS CITED THE PRESIDENT AS REAFFIRMING HIS FAITH IN THE ALLIANCE AND AS SAYING HE HAD NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT COMMUNIST REGIMES; HE SEEKS CONCRETE RESULTS IN NEGOTIATIONS; WILL NOT ALLOW DAMAGE TO THE ALLIES; AND THAT HE WAS TOLD IN WASHINGTON THAT THE ARGUMENT ABOUT A U. S.- USSR CONDOMINIUM IS ABSURD. THE REASON THE U. S. WAS LESS RIGID TODAY WAS THAT THE USSR HAD BEEN LESS RIGID. THE PRESIDENT ADDED THAT HE KNEW THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ALLIANCE; ONE REASON FOR SUCCESS IN NEGOTIATIONS THUS FAR IS THAT THE ALLIANCE EXISTS. HE WAS AWARE THAT THE USSR
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 01982 192113 Z

COULD TRY TO USE MBFR AND CSCE TO SEPARATE THE ALLIES. THE U. S. NEEDS STRONG VOICES IN EUROPE TODAY IF ENDLESS DEBATE IS TO BE

AVOIDED AMONG THE ALLIES AND IF ANY SOVIET EFFORT TO SPLIT THE ALLIES IS TO BE CIRCUMVENTED.

3. LUNS SAID THE PRESIDENT SAID HE WAS PLANNING TO COME TO EUROPE TOWARD THE END OF THE YEAR AND, IN RESPONSE TO LUNS' INVITATION, THAT HE WOULD LOOK FAVORABLY ON MEETING WITH THE COUNCIL. THE EFFECT OF EUROPEAN CRITICISM OF U. S. VIET- NAM DECISIONS WAS PAST, BUT NOT FORGOTTEN. THE PRESIDENT PRAISED HEATH HIGHLY.

4. SUBSEQUENTLY LUNS, READING FROM SOME NOTES TAKEN IN HIS SEPARATE MEETING WITH KISSINGER, REPORTED KISSINGER AS SAYING THAT THE U. S. GOAL IS NOT SIMPLY TO DEFEAT THE MANSFIELD AMENDMENT BUT, TAKING A LONGER RANGE VIEW, TO PUT THE ALLIANCE ON A FIRMER BASIS BY GAINING BROADER PUBLIC SUPPORT SO THAT U. S. AND OTHER NATIONS WOULD NOT HAVE TO LIVE HAND- TO- MOUTH AS A RESULT OF SUCCESSIVE ATTACKS AGAINST ADEQUATE SECURITY. HE SAID KISSINGER FURTHER OBSERVED THAT NUCLEAR PARITY LEADS TO QUESTIONS REGARDING THE STRATEGIC CONCEPT UNDER WHICH THE ALLIANCE OPERATES. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE BECOMES EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, WITH THE CONSEQUENT NEED TO ENHANCE THE EUROPEAN DEFENSE CAPABILITY. WITH RESPECT TO A POSSIBLE BREZHNEV VISIT, KISSINGER SAID IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALLIES RESIST TEMPTATION TO BE SUSPICIOUS OF U. S.- SOVIET BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS.

5. MBFR. LUNS REPORTED HE WAS TOLD THAT THE U. S. WILL KEEP ITS COMMITMENT IN EUROPE IF THE EUROPEANS DO THEIR PART; THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO START MBFR; AND THAT NAC SEEMS TO HAVE OVER- EMPHASIZED SOME OF THE PROBLEMS IT HAS CONSIDERED. HUNGARY IS IMPORTANT, BUT THAT THE PROBLEM IS ADEQUATELY HANDLED IF THERE IS A SUITABLE NON- CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE. IN SUBSEQUENT MEETING, LUNS SAID KISSINGER EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT LANGUAGE FOR A NON- CIRCUMVENTION FORMULA CAN BE FOUND. LUNS ADDED THAT KISSINGER FURTHER EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING ABLE TO RESPOND TO QUESTIONS, PROPOSALS AND PROBES IN MBFR TECHNICALLY ON THE SECURITY ASPECTS, AS U. S. DID IN SALT I.

6. ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. LUNS REPORTED THE PRESIDENT AS SAYING THAT, IN MONETARY AND FINANCIAL MATTERS, THE U. S. WOULD TAKE A HARD LOOK AT THE PROBLEMS AND OBSERVED THAT THESE MATTERS WERE RELATED
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 01982 192113 Z

TO SECURITY AND DEFENSE IN EUROPE IN THE MINDS OF MANY CONGRESSMEN AND SOME OF THE PUBLIC. LUNS ALSO NOTED SECRETARY RICHARDSON AS TELLING HIM THAT THE COST OF U. S. INVOLVEMENT IN NATO IS \$1 BILLION NET LOSS ON BOP; IF THAT PROBLEM WERE SOLVED, IT WOULD MAKE IT MUCH EASIER TO KEEP TROOPS IN EUROPE.

7. THE ACCOUNT GIVEN THE PERMREPS OF DISCUSSION IN WASHINGTON WAS WELL RECEIVED, AND PARTICULARLY THE PRESIDENT' S WILLINGNESS TO LOOK FAVORABLY ON A VISIT WITH THE COUNCIL. IT ALSO SPARKED

A DISCUSSION BY THE DE STAERCKE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF LARGE COUNTRIES CONSULTING MULTILATERALLY IN NATO ON BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. THE ENDEMIC SUSPICION OF U. S.- SOVIET BILATERALISM, WHICH LUNS REPORTED THE PRESIDENT AND KISSINGER AS DISCOURAGING, WAS DISCUSSED AS WAS THE STRONG DESIRE FOR CONSULTATIONS PRIOR TO AND AFTER THE POSSIBLE BREZHNEV VISITS TO U. S. AND GERMANY. I STRESSED THE PRESIDENT' S SUPPORT OF THE ALLIANCE AND HIS FULL AWARENESS OF THE TACTICS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE USSR. I ALSO NOTED THAT ONLY A DECADE AGO, MANY EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS, OUT OF FEAR OF WORLD WAR III, WERE URGING THE U. S. AND USSR TO TALK TO ONE ANOTHER. SPIERENBURG (NETHERLANDS), HELPFULLY, POINTED OUT THAT LUNS' TRIP AND EXTENSIVE CONVERSATIONS WITH ALL THE HIGHEST U. S. OFFICIALS WERE, IN AND OF THEMSELVES, AN OUT- STANDING EXAMPLE OF CONSULTATION.

8. AFTERWARDS, AND PRIVATELY, I COMMENTED TO SPIERENBURG THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR ALLIES TO RECOGNIZE THAT COOPERATION BETWEEN ALLIES MEANS COOPERATION BOTH

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